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FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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The Two Ways of Philosophy

By CHARLES F. DOLE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II Chapter II. By M. K. GANDHI

Snapshots in Denmark

By CHESTER C. PLATT

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began in this magazine on

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1926 NUMBER 4

COUNTERFEITS

"There are ignorances of different degrees, and degrees of knowledge which are quite deceptive. One of the worst plagues of society is this thoughtless inexhaustible verbosity, this careless use of words, this pretence of knowing a thing because we talk about it—these counterfeits of belief, thought, love, or earnestness, which all the while are mere babble. These ignorances of society are in general ferociously affirmative; chatter mistakes itself for opinion; prejudice poses as principle. Parrots behave as though they were thinking beings; imitations give themselves out as originals; and politeness demands the acceptance of the convention. It is very wearisome."

—*Amiel's Journal.*

The Hindu situation in South Africa, which has stirred such profound feeling in India during the past year, is generally interpreted as marking the nullification of Gandhi's great achievement there in 1914. Nothing could be farther from the truth! Gandhi achieved much in the political field—his non-cooperative campaign in South Africa must ever stand as the supreme illustration in history of the certain success of non-resistant methods when followed with utter fidelity and with utter patience. But the Mahatma's supreme achievement was not in the political field at all. It was in the spiritual! What Gandhi did through those twenty years in South Africa marks in himself and in his followers one of the few immortal demonstrations of the potency and beauty of "soul-force," to use Gandhi's own phrase, and one of the permanent deposits of the divine spirit in man's record of life upon this planet. When we speak of Jesus, of St. Francis, of Buddha, we do not ask what they did, but what they *were*. So with Gandhi! More than any other leader in history, he has proved the practicability of non-resistance; but he has also perfectly embodied its ideality.

Of all this, the South African campaign, upon the story of which Gandhi's "Autobiography" now enters, is the first and wonderful example. Part II, containing this story in detail, began its exclusive publication in these columns last week. *Renew subscriptions* NOW!

Germany is in the League of Nations; Spain, following Argentina and Brazil, is out! The loss of a nation a year in the last three years is plainly disquieting. What would have happened to the United States, so often cited as a parallel of the League, had disintegration begun so early? But all this seems insignificant, none the less, as compared with the vast importance of Germany's reception at Geneva. From the beginning we have been among those who have contended that the League of Nations was not and could not be a true league, effective for peace or any other good and perfect thing, so long as Germany was a pariah outside the gates. The infamous Versailles Treaty established the League of Nations as an alliance of military conquerors for the maintenance and extension of conquest, and the enforcement of peace—if it can be called such—in terms of an international dictatorship ruling the continent by might of arms in its own selfish and cruel interest. Such the League was doomed to remain, until the gates were opened, and Germany received into good and regular standing as a member of the society of nations. Now that moment has come, and the League for the first time in its history takes on the aspect of a genuine league, and gives some suggestion at least of being able in due time to establish peace. We do not wonder that the friends of the League of Nations are jubilant, nor would we refrain from magnifying their joy now that they have consummated what we have for years declared must be consummated if their cherished organization is to survive and do its promised work. One of the two essential steps toward real internationalism at Geneva has at last been taken! The second and equally important step now remains—the acceptance of Russia. As long as the Soviets are outside, as Germany was outside, there can be no disarmament, no feeling of security, no peace. With the old enemy, however, taken into the family, it should be easy to receive as well the old ally.

The admission of Germany into the League of Nations has other and wider implications than those centering at Geneva. This achievement establishes at last the Locarno treaties, with their remarkable settlements and pledges, discussed at great length in these columns when they were first published to the world. With the enactment of these treaties comes the beginning of the end of the Versailles Peace. It is like taking away the underpinning—the whole thing must soon come crashing to the ground! With the ending of Versailles comes the first promise of a new and better world. What wonder that the tide of optimism is

once again mounting to the flood the world around! Famished for a dozen years, we devour anything that promises sustenance and survival! But it is just as well, even at this bright moment, to keep our heads, to remember realities. What has been done in Europe has been done not from choice but from necessity. Remember that! Versailles spelt chaos—hence the Dawes Plan, the Locarno agreements, the acceptance of Germany into the League, if Europe was to survive at all! Desperate men on a desert island do a thousand things together not because they love one another but because they would live at any cost. France does not love Germany, nor Germany France. Russia and western Europe sleep with a naked sword between them. Mussolini threatens the peace of the world as no man since Bonaparte. Dictatorships, always arbitrary, always violent, continue to multiply. Armies and navies, submarines and airplanes, still guarantee preparedness and threaten war; every move for disarmament collapses of its own iron weight. Secret treaties of alliance and mutual defense—the old balance of power idea—are still being written and filed away for the dreadful moment of conflict. Hatreds, jealousies, fears still flourish like the green bay tree. These are realities! We have been fooled again! The nations can do one thing to prove their sincerity and honest determination, and that is—*outlaw war,* altogether, all around, under all conditions, and for all time. When they do that by mutual, open, and pledged agreement, we shall believe. So long as they are satisfied with anything short of this, we shall continue our spiritual preparedness for the next war.

A World Court senator has survived a primary contest—yea, not one, but *two!* The jubilation among administration supporters is of course great—as great as the enthusiasm at a ball game when the home team makes two hits in the ninth inning, after being blanked, with the score 7 to 0 against them. But let us look at these victories a moment, and see what they mean! About as much, we opine, as two "scratch" hits in the baseball situation above described. For "scratch" they certainly were! The first victor was Shortridge, of California, in an out-and-out contest on the World Court issue. This contest, as few of the newspapers stop to point out, was a three-cornered affair, with Shortridge, pro-Court, opposed by two other candidates, both of them anti-Court. The last returns to reach the East gave Shortridge 218,390 votes, Clarke 159,317, and Lineberger, 78,702. In other words, the total vote *against* the Court was 238,019—a majority of 19,629 over the total vote *for* the Court! As these returns were from only 5,409 precincts out of 8,275, the final anti-Court majority must be much larger. The second pro-Court victor was Senator Oddie, of Nevada, in a vote which read like the tabulation of a solitary election district on the East side of New York City. If these achievements give comfort to the administration, so be it! But compare these results, now, with the primaries in Wisconsin and New Hampshire the following week. Lenroot, of Wisconsin, was the leader of the pro-Court forces on the floor of the Senate; his opponent, Governor Blaine, was a notoriously weak candidate, fighting a revolt against "the Madison Ring" which registered a complete triumph in the case of the gubernatorial candidate, and the World Court was to the fore from the beginning to the end of the campaign. Yet Lenroot was smashed—the full magnitude of his disastrous defeat is not yet recorded as we write. In New Hampshire, Calvin Coolidge's beloved New England, the result was the same. Senator Moses, Anti, beat his opponent, Gov. Bass, hot for the World Court, two to one. We repeat what we have said before—the Court may be as good as you please, but the people are against it!

Why do men write memoirs? Of all the men who have told their personal stories since the Great War, how many have improved their reputations? Asquith's book, ably written, contained nothing new, and dropped promptly into the obscurity which swallows up all things inconsequential. The Kaiser's book did not even sell, so futile did it appear in its serial publication in the newspapers. The Crown Prince's volumes and those of Ludendorff improved Germany's case not a whit, and left their authors much worse off than before. Lord Grey's memoirs were most disarming in their perfect candor and charming humility, but they did nothing more than show a well-intentioned man moving blindly to disaster. Col. House's "Intimate Papers," recently the sensation of the hour, are a terrible revelation of futility and presumption—read Mr. Villard's scathing review in the *Nation* (April 14) if you want to know the truth about this work. Walter Hines Page was not responsible, of course, for the publication of his "Letters." They were great letters as such, and gave their author a momentary fame, but we now know that they reveal an ambassador who so completely lost his head in a great crisis as to be betrayed into action only little short of treason. Of all this host of post-war memoirs, we can think of only one which repaired or enhanced its author's reputation. We refer to Winston Churchill's "The World Crisis." We have no use for Churchill's opinions, and regard him as fundamentally one of the most dangerous of militarists. But his book is one of the most brilliant literary works of modern times, and it corrected misapprehensions and slanders, as regards the Gallipoli campaign, for example, which had all but ruined him. The memoirs of our time, taken as a whole, are a melancholy lot. It is probably because the men of our time have been a melancholy lot. But why do such men give themselves away?

The history of the Passaic (N. J.) strike, now drawing to a close, throws a remarkable side-light upon the problem of the churches in such a crisis. The question is not a simple one, though the inclination of the churches to rally to the side of capital is one which should be unsparingly condemned. But whatever the confusions and complexities involved, and they are many, one aspect of the matter stands out as clear as crystal in the sunlight. For weeks in the Passaic strike, the issue of civil liberties—i. e., the right of the strikers peacefully to assemble and discuss their grievances—was critically to the fore. The law and its officers, as usual in such cases, moved instantly to the support of the mills, and thus to the suppression of the striking employees. At the behest of the employers, therefore, the police stopped all public gatherings. When the strikers hired a piece of vacant land, on which to hold a meeting, they were clubbed and dispersed, their speakers arrested, and the land put under guard. When the strikers hired private halls, a lawless and brutal sheriff mobilized his deputies, locked and barred the doors, and threatened instant arrest to any one who so much as attempted to open his mouth. Why didn't the churches in this crisis vindicate civil rights, instead of leaving it to the indefatigable American Civil Liberties Union to do the job? Why didn't they at least open the auditoriums of their buildings and invite the strikers to come in and say their say? Let it be set down as a basic principle, for the guidance of all churches in a situation of this kind, that, whatever the confusion of issues and conflict of interests in other directions, the constitutional right of the people to assemble and speak is inalienable. When this is denied by anarchist officers of the law, the churches always have the opportunity to use their buildings for the protection of this fundamental liberty. When they neglect or refuse to do this, we may know, as one critic has said of the Passaic churches, that "there is no health in them."

The Two Ways of Philosophy

Let no reader be frightened by the word, *Philosophy*. As we propose to use it, philosophy has a practical meaning for any ordinary, intelligent person. For our purpose it means our general idea or theory about the world in which we live, and practically the plan or scheme of our adjustment to its environment. It is, or ought to be a "guide of life," of a kind to make so far as possible some intelligible sense out of life, and to give us the satisfaction of at least hoping that we are steering its course by the dictates of reason.

In this sense we submit that there are only two philosophies possible. Both types indeed have various forms and are held under different names. There is no need of confusing our minds with these differences, which are on the surface only, and doubtless quite baffling to readers unfamiliar with their subtle distinctions,—excellent play for mental gymnastics, but nowise necessary for our chief practical quest in the guidance of human life.

Perhaps, however, most men would deny that they have any conscious philosophy, as many assume that they have, and need, no religion; as an engineer or seaman might say that he worked his way by a simple "rule of thumb" without having any theory of electricity or navigation. But a workman's mind must be very shallow, who would not admit that he would like to possess a guiding theory of his trade, in which he is daily stumbling upon facts and names that imply a theory of reason,—a piece of philosophy, and even of religion under them. The fact is, that life everywhere consists in constant adjustments in respect to great things and small, in the home or the school-room or the shop, in the town housekeeping and in things international, and every man's comfort, facility, efficiency, success, and especially happiness, consist in knowing each new environment, which he soon discovers cannot be known too well and too thoroughly. What else is education but the task and the quest of knowing and fitting environments.

Now, we say that philosophy, and religion also, are our human understanding, and adjustment to the greatest, the most intimate, the most stupendous of all environments, including all other and lesser schemes, and we say again that there are only two essential philosophies of which any one needs to take account. We suspect also that few men are so dull as not to be conscious at all of the pressure of the reality of this philosophical environment, and not to feel at times a sort of urgency to make some bit of inevitable judgment about it.

Let us inspect, first, what is called the "materialist" or mechanical view of the universe. Please observe that we tend at once to go with it, so far as it is positive and constructive; for it is immensely interesting and impressive. Recall any of the recent stories of science, or an astronomical lecture with stereopticon pictures of hosts of blazing suns! What is man in the face of this overwhelming display! Note, however, that besides the wonder of fiery force, as if springing forth to reduce man to a speck of ashes, man rises never so proudly. In some strange sense man, studying this massive environment of drifting worlds, is their master; man is thus the most colossal of wonders; even a child holds this vast display in his mind.

Thus, at the very porch of the materialist philosophy, we are met with the most ancient of mysteries: What is man? What is the Universe about?

Let us listen to what the materialist philosophy, searching the elements, can tell about matter. There is nothing so elusive as matter; we simply do not know what it is; we only know what it looks like; and how it behaves in all sorts of conditions, in other words, what we men can do with it, and how to discover new adjustments to its changes. The sound materialist must even be shy of calling it "matter," and when some one asks: Is it not a mode of motion or force? he is not far from calling it *spirit!* We are lost again here in the mazes of mystery, and man, the materialist student,—in other words, each man of us, studying what we all call for convenience the material side of the universe, is as before the greatest of wonders. We are all materialists, naturalists, and mechanicians, so far as material goes, and so long as we can find mechanical forces turning the wheels of our industries.

But we must still be practical; we need a working theory, or philosophy, to cover all those myriad adjustments that make our everyday human life. We want greater facility and efficiency than men ever as yet have shown in getting on happily with our fellows. In this delicate and most pressingly important region of conduct (call it either moral or social) the materialist philosophy, so long as it remains strictly materialist and does not stray over the tenuous border to borrow and annex what we shall presently have to call spiritual or theistic terms, ideals, and a general theory of the Universe, is bound to be negative, that is, practically unfruitful. Its latest phase is known as behaviorism. In a moral issue a man's hidden mechanism of brain-cells and nerves acts even before the man himself can pass in his vote, Yea or Nay, to his own conscious intelligence! No wonder-story of the Old Testament goes beyond this proposition in perplexity. You carry the Golden Rule to the psychological laboratory in order to procure advice upon its workability. You will get no light there. Can they possibly advise certain select diets, by which your children's ethical enginery will automatically make pacifists of them, or more likely, belligerents? What constitute valid motives in this philosophy?

Take the recurring appeal from the East for Bulgarian and Greek and Syrian relief. Do you see anything in the materialist world upon which we may look to establish faith (we mean "faith" in men, in peoples, in the Universe), or hope (for instance, to be rid of the hates and racial contempts that breed war), or charity (i. e., prevailing goodwill)? Can we trust in the atoms, or in a beneficent mechanism, to uphold the first nation that will dare to forgive its war-debts and disarm in the face of armed neighbors? Are we morally wrong in confessing frankly, that we find ourselves cold on our material side, in the light of our conscious, critical intelligence, in rushing into the jaws of death upon the momentum of a psychic reaction? What duty of "beneficence" is there? For human beneficence has its roots in a realm of values—high and low, better and worse, beautiful and ugly. Where in the materialist world are the standards to measure such actual values as love and honesty? Does anyone think that these values rise and fall with gold coins in the market? What becomes of them then when we most need them?

We do not speak in apprehension of what a materialist philosophy threatens. We have no fear that our ideals and most solidly-tested ethical habits are doomed to perish. The trouble with materialism is its deadening inertness—we mean, provided you try to stuff all human-interests into its strict limits, and to stop thinking, except in the things that you measure in kilowatts. We men cannot stop so. For example, all mathematical conceptions go beyond material bounds, as truly as does a love song.

Consider now the majestic imperative of duty. The greatest of thinkers have bowed to it in worship. Human nature, at a certain point of its development seems to answer back, as if normally attuned to this note. Once caught by its music, man is only happy whenever he returns to it. He cannot refuse it and be a full man. This must be a fact beyond materialism. How does it come? The gifted astronomer, showing us the Milky Way, is not so great as the child is, who has caught this note of goodwill in him, like a flute, calling him back to the heart of the Universe. Through the recognition of this note common men enter the ranks of matured humanity.

Consider, again, that marvelous inner compulsion that binds a man, of whatever school of science or philosophy, to "tell the truth and only the truth." Why should a man care so much for the truth of his science, of his word, of his honor? Here deep seems to answer to deep!

The truth is, that all things which make life precious, belong to a universe (for it is with us and in us from beginning to end) that we have to call "spiritual." Here eternal visions of beauty are, and ideals most splendid. They command us, as if indeed we were akin to the Life creative, beneficent, eternal, behind all the things that dance on the phenomenal surface. Our best selves are doubtless spirit, not matter. Here abides the one sufficient philosophy. This spiritual philosophy is no enemy or rival of the other materialist scheme. It comprises the other. We put up no combat with truth. But we want the whole truth. We need the whole truth in order to live a whole life. Be assured that nothing except spirit, in the largest sense of the word, is enough for us men, children of God.

But some one may urge that in speaking thus we merely follow a long line of tradition and usage, or,

what seems to bind us is the strong pull of a powerful majority will or combination of wills, or the control over us of some few eminent leaders of our group or sect. The interesting fact is, however, that issues repeatedly arise in this complex modern life, where we are obliged to move singly, and with very infrequent companionship. In the case of the great war, for instance, many men were somehow impelled to take a stand against the overwhelming tide of opinion and action,—not a kind of stand that any normal person relishes. We were challenged, as if from the depths to stem criticism, not of others alone, but of what we were doing ourselves. As citizens of the materialistic world we should have subsided into some form of opportunism, even while we might have thus overborne our own intellectual judgment concerning the folly of war. But being possessed with the reality of the realm of the spirit, we were unable to play, what for us, would have been the part of traitors to this higher citizenship.

We know of no subject, small or momentous, touching the social conduct of life, where both by observation and actual frequent experience we do not feel the wholesome sway of what appears to us to be a great universe-will for good. The individual will, like a tiny wheel, but a conscious willing wheel, constructed to turn and finding life full and free in the motion, feel the quickening pressure of the great bond that makes him one with the big driving wheel whence the power flows. Our meaning of course transcends the application of any mechanical figure. The familiar mystic parable of the vital relation of "the hand of the man to the man" may serve better. Indeed, the entire multiform universe is a book of parables and analogies, as if designed by a mighty intelligence to serve the only possible philosophy, or plan and system of rational thought, (at all adequate) to meet and fit and match into unity, and give satisfaction, expression, gladness and peace to the citizens of a universe whose essential nature is spirit.

Finally, there are not two philosophies. There is only one real philosophy, simple enough for plain people and profound enough for the most searching human intellect, to which its supposed alternative is a humble ministrant,—to some perhaps for a while a play-house or rest-house, while they are waiting to take a new grip on their minds whenever the love of truth and unity grows up to possess them. We insist that no alert mind can ever find content in the rest-house.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

PART II—CHAPTER II

How I Began Life

My elder brother had built high hopes on me. The desire for wealth and name and fame was great in him. He had a big heart generous to a fault. This combined with his simple nature had attracted to him many friends and through them he expected to get me briefs. He had also assumed that I would have a swinging practice and had in that expectation allowed the household expenses to become top-heavy. He had also left no stone unturned in preparing the field for my practice.

The storm in my caste over my foreign voyage was still brewing. It had divided the caste into two camps, one of which immediately readmitted me to the caste, while the other was bent on keeping me out. To please the former my brother took me to Nasik before going to Rajkot, gave me a bath in the sacred river and on reaching Rajkot gave a caste-dinner. I did not like all this but my brother's love for me was boundless and my devotion to him was in proportion to it, and so I mechanically acted as he wished, taking his will to be law. The trouble about readmission to the caste was thus practically over.

I never tried to seek admission to the section that had refused it to me. Nor did I feel even mental resentment against any of the headmen of that section. Some of these regarded me with dislike but I scrupulously avoided treading on their corns. I fully respected the caste regulations about excommunication. According to these none of my relations, including my father-in-law and mother-in-law or even my sister and brother-in-law could entertain me; and I would not so much as drink water at their houses. They were prepared secretly to evade the prohibition, but it went against the grain with me to do a thing in secret that I would not do in public.

The result of my scrupulous conduct was that I never had occasion to be troubled by the caste; nay, I have experienced nothing but affection and generosity from the general body of the section that still regards me as excommunicated. They have even helped me in my work, without ever expecting me to do anything for the caste. It is my conviction that all these good things are due to my non-resistance. Had I agitated for being admitted to the caste, had I attempted to divide it into more camps, had I provoked the castemen, they would surely have retaliated, and instead of steering clear of the storm I should, on my arrival from England, have found myself in a whirlpool of agitation and perhaps party to dissimulation.

My relations with my wife were still not as I desired. Even my stay in England had not cured me of my jealousy. I continued my squeamishness and

suspiciousness in respect of every little thing, and hence all my cherished desires remained unfulfilled. I had decided that my wife should learn reading and writing and that I should help her in her studies, but my lust came in the way and she had to suffer for my shortcoming. Once I went the length of sending her away to her father's house and consented to receive her back only after I had made her thoroughly miserable. I saw later that all this was pure folly on my part.

I had planned reform in the education of children. My brother had children, and my own child which I had left at home when I went to England was now a boy of nearly four. It was my desire to teach these little ones physical exercise and make them hardy and also to give them the benefit of my personal guidance. In this I had my brother's support and I succeeded in my effort more or less. I very much liked the company of children and the habit of playing and joking with them has stayed with me till today. I have ever since thought that I would make a good teacher of children.

The necessity for food reform was obvious. Tea and coffee had already found their place in the house. My brother had thought it fit to keep some sort of English atmosphere ready for me on my return, and to that end crockery and such other things, which used to be kept in the house only for occasional use, were now in general use. My "reforms" put the finishing touch. I introduced oatmeal porridge and cocoa was to replace tea and coffee. But in truth it became an addition to tea and coffee. Boots and shoes were already there. I completed the Europeanization by adding the European dress.

Expenses thus went up. New things were added every day. We had succeeded in tying a white elephant at our door. But how was the wherewithal to be found? To start practice in Rajkot would have meant sure ridicule. I had hardly the knowledge of a qualified Vakil and yet I expected to be paid ten times his fee! No client would be fool enough to engage me. And even if such a one was to be found, should I add arrogance and fraud to my ignorance, and increase the burden of debt I owed to the world?

Friends advised me to go to Bombay for some time to gain experience of the High Court and study Indian law and to try to get what briefs I could. I took up the suggestion and came to Bombay.

Here I started a household with a cook as incompetent as myself. He was a Brahmin. I did not treat him as a servant but as a member of the household. He would pour water over himself but never wash. His *dhoti* was dirty, as also his sacred thread, and he was innocent of Scriptures. But how was I to get a better cook?

"Well, Ravishanker," (for that was his name), I would ask him, "You may not know cooking, but surely you must know your *Sandhya* (daily worship) etc."

"*Sandhya*, sir! The plough is our *Sandhya* and the spade the daily ritual. That is the type of Brahmin I am. I must live on your mercy. Otherwise agriculture is of course there for me."

So I had to be Ravishanker's teacher. Time I had enough. I began to do half the cooking and introduced the English experiments in vegetarian cookery. I invested in a stove and with Ravishanker began to run the kitchen. I had no scruples about interdining and Ravishanker too came to have none and so we went on merrily together. There was only one obstacle. Ravishanker had sworn to remain dirty and to keep the food unclean!

But it was impossible for me to get along in Bombay longer than four or five months. For there was no income to square with the ever-increasing expenditure.

This is how I began life. I found the barrister's profession a bad job—much show and little knowledge. I felt a crushing sense of my responsibility.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

Indian Ambassadors

[From Our Special Correspondent]

A nation's good name is in the custody of other nations; and a proper selection of ambassadors is necessary for, among other things, her place in the comity of nations. Since the war, the Dominion Governments have assumed a role of ever-increasing independence of Great Britain's imperial policies at all international gatherings, but the Government of India seems deliberately to be going in the opposite direction. It seems to be determined that India go practically unrepresented at all such gatherings.

At the International Labor organization it flouted the Indian Employers' wish, by nominating Sir Arthur Froom to both the conferences. But the nominations to the League of Nations and the Imperial Conference, bodies that are regarded as much more important than the Labor Organization, show also wanton disregard of Indian wishes. India was never properly represented at these bodies, as the popular demand that the Legislative Assembly should have some sort of control in the matter has been conceded. This year's nominations conclusively show that the Indian Government is bent upon reducing India's membership in these bodies to a mere joke. Whether or not Lord Sinha and Right Honourable Shrinivas Shastri really represented the Indian people, Maharaja of Burdwan and Sheikh Abdul Qadir can by no serious man be regarded to be of their calibre. *The Servant of India*, a most moderate paper, reads into the nominations a warning that the deliberate policy of making India a nonentity at the League and the Imperial Conference is being pursued.

But fortunately India is asserting herself more than ever before for a decent place amongst nations by sending another type of ambassador also. If Mahatma Gandhi had accepted the European invitation, there is no doubt that the year 1926 would be regarded as singular because of these other nonofficial ambassadors. Just at present the topmost men of India, including Rabindranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Roy, Sir J. C. Bose, Lala Lajapat Rai, and Prof. Radha Krishna, are touring abroad, and there is no doubt that their work in their respective spheres goes to enhance the respect for India in other lands. If Gandhi's name were added to this brilliant list, the year 1926 would indeed have marked an era.

D.

The Morals of Machinery*

Having a little leisure just at present I want to write you about something I have been thinking about for a long time. It may make rather a long letter, but it is a subject which concerns us all and will, I know, engage your interest. Besides, I want your critcism.

It is about the ultimate, that is to say, moral and spiritual value of large scale, power-driven machinery. As you know, I have had considerable doubt as to the soundness of general opinion on this subject. To the results of my own experience in industrial life I have added and compared the ideas of many other people in books and discussion.

As Freeman in his book, "Social Decay and Regeneration," points out, most people accept mechanism for its immediate results and are quite blind to the secondary results of slower growth. But these latter are the most important. Just because machines produce more goods in shorter time and at lower cost, almost everybody says, "Splendid" and consider the subject closed. But there are a lot of evils involved which seem to me to overbalance the advantages, and I want to set them forth for your careful consideration.

The first is the enormous concentration of material power and wealth. We all know that there is vastly more material wealth and power now in the world than at any time in previous history. Machinery and modern industry have developed the exploitation of natural resources all over the world to a prodigious degree. Steamships and railways have carried those materials into cities for manufacture and consequent distribution, modern corporations, an outgrowth of the needs of industry, have taken the money of millions of people and concentrated its management and control into relatively few hands and modern developments of banking and credit have concentrated the control of all the materials and factories and mills into still fewer hands.

The very enormity of these industrial establishments and means of transportation and communication and the vast amounts of capital invested in them are gradually causing more intense concentration of control. For whenever a business or financial crisis comes and the mills and factories close, the owners of smaller establishments cannot carry the financial burden of overhead expense of idle machinery and plant. They are bought up by the larger organizations or banks and thus the concentration of control proceeds.

Furthermore, it is the nature of machinery to grow of its own accord. Mills and factories require railways and steamships to bring their raw material and coal, and to carry their products to the markets. They require many large machine manufacturing plants to supply them with machines, tools and equipment of all sorts, and as larger and more complicated machines are invented, the machine shops grow bigger, the railways require larger cars, more cars, more powerful locomotives and heavier rails. In turn, the railways require coal mines and all the pumps, hoisting apparatus, coal cars, boilers, etc., at the mines; huge iron and steel works to make rails, boiler plate, iron sheeting and plates for cars, wheels, structural iron for buildings and bridges. They require vast engineering shops to make locomotives, cars and all their parts, and other shops to make the machines used in those railway shops. They require wood working and tool-making machines, machinery to grind and mix great quantities of paint, an interminable amount of machinery.

Power consuming machinery begets power producing machinery and vice versa. Once started there is no end to its multiplication. Its enormity requires vast sums of money. The acquisition and management of these sums have called for corporate control and finance and it is well known that stockholders of corporations exercise no real continuous control. They are too scattered, ignorant and small, individually. Control relapses, in practice, into the hands of the few managers who know the details. They in turn become subordinate to the bankers who supply the necessary credit for the operation of industry. Probably, the real ultimate control of industry in Europe, America and most of Asia and Africa is concentrated in the hands of not over 1,500 men, perhaps fewer still.

Such tremendous power in the hands of individuals is a moral evil both for them and for those who are subject to their control. It is a temptation which human nature cannot withstand. It involves tyranny, vanity, pride, greed, selfishness, ruthless competition on the one side, loss of liberty, insecurity, fears, loss of self-reliance and of independence, degradation, poverty, loss of dignity and self-respect on the other.

Moreover, power consuming machines and their growth cause a search for power, coal, oil, water-power, which involves land monopoly, economic imperialism and more exploitation of workers. This means more concentration of economic power.

You may say that all these things are the results of industry, of capitalism, of land monopoly, but not of machinery. But modern industry is possible only because of machinery. And though capitalism has existed from the days of the Phoenicians and Romans, it was never on such a scale and its evils were but a drop in the bucket compared with today. Landlordism, it is true, is as old as agriculture, but it never was so oppressive as now. It is machinery which has developed these ancient evils so terribly.

Another evil resulting from power-driven machinery and its concomitants is an appalling

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* Letter to a friend, dated October 13, 1925. This came to our hands some time ago, as published in The Indian magazine, *Current Thought*. It is the best interpretation we have seen of the case against machinery. It is especially interesting at this moment when the *Forum* is publishing a series of articles on the other side—see "The Field" in this issue. The bearing of Mr. Gregg's statement on the whole Gandhi philosophy is obvious.—EDITOR.

waste of materials and of human life. There is a fearful destruction and waste of natural resources. Forests are being destroyed, coal mines exhausted, oil wells pumped dry, agricultural soils depleted at a shockingly rapid rate, and in turn the denudation of forests is destroying water power resources, causing floods and droughts in many places. It requires over an acre of large standing trees to supply enough wood pulps to make the paper required for a single Sunday edition of one of the larger newspapers in America. Railway sleepers, houses, furniture and bridges are all demanding more wood. British coal fields will be exhausted inside of 100 years. American oil wells will be drained in less than half that period.

The poverty thus created will have a crippling effect on the morals of generations.

Deaths, maiming and crippling by industrial accidents year after year far exceed corresponding deaths and injuries by war. Diseases and physical deterioration caused directly and indirectly by modern industry are appalling. For, it is industry that has caused the development of large cities with their smoke, dirt, noise, hurry, bad air, lack of sunshine and outdoor life, slums, disease, prostitution, and unnatural living. The noise, dust, gases, poisons, nervous strains, unnatural lack of leisure, have created an immense mass of physical suffering. Think of the periods of unemployment which all students of the problem state to be inherent in modern industry, what hunger, insecurity, dread, anxiety for the women and children of employees! What deterioration of character of great numbers of people as a result! What inefficiencies produced among workers! What a constant state of unhappiness and discontent and revolt the wheels of modern industry do grind out!

Consider the waste involved in advertising. Machinery means enormous production—greater than what is needed to supply human needs. This means a great temptation to make profits out of that flow of goods. The desire for profits and the fear of loss from idle plants, leads to advertising—large scale tempting of people to buy—playing on their desires for more things. The President of the British Incorporated Society of Advertisement Consultants recently estimated that the annual expenditure on advertisements for the British Isles alone is £175,000,000. Think of the waste! And what a contrast to the teachings of Buddha, Lao Tze, Krishna and Christ in regard to need for keeping our desires few and simple! And they call this progress! I do not for a moment say that the olden days of handicrafts were all joy and happiness or that there were not great evils in those days; but I certainly believe that the miseries were not so intense, so constant, so oppressive or so widespread as now. To marshal proof would make this letter into a book.

Biometric and population statistics and studies show that there have been very great increases in the population of almost all countries since the beginning of modern industry. These increases, coincident with the development of machinery and great production of goods, may presumably be ascribed to machinery and its concomitants. The growth of population has increased the pressure on the land, has provided more people to work and be exploited, has caused vast movements of people from one land to another, has raised innumerable problems and troubles. Though undoubted benefits have come in its wake, undoubted evils have followed also. Is not machinery primarily responsible here, or at least the prime factor in making it possible?

Another striking feature of the situation created by machinery is parasitism. Machinery, like a living organism, has grown parasitic upon man, as Butler so cleverly shows in his "Erewhon." Man is made to obey the machines. His hours of work, of leisure, and of eating are determined by machines and factories and railways. His habitations and his travel are determined by railways and steamships. The food which he eats, the tools and equipment which he uses, the nature of his dwellings, the nature of his recreations are determined by machine necessities rather than by human desires and idiosyncrasies. The wealthy and middle classes have so many possessions and desires that they need servants to provide and care for them. They cease to be self-reliant and become helpless and parasitic upon the working classes. And the latter become so specialized by the division of labor produced under the regime of machinery that they also become helpless. A man ceases to be able to provide for himself. The ordinary city dweller cannot make his own clothing or shoes or house or furniture, or produce or prepare his own food. Workers become parasitic upon one another. The cities cannot provide their own food or raw materials, and become parasitic upon the country. One class is parasitic upon another. Industrial nations are parasitic upon agricultural nations. Those who live in temperate climates (being predominantly industrial) are increasingly parasitic upon tropical peoples. Governments are more and more parasitic upon the peoples they govern, armies are parasitic upon civilians. Investors are parasitic upon the working classes.

People even become parasitic and passive in regard to their recreation and amusements. They want to *be* amused, instead of amusing themselves. They get their fun and their physical exhilaration vicariously. They throng the cinemas and theaters and music halls. They watch others play cricket, rugby, football, golf or tennis. They watch others race on horseback or in boats. The multitudes watch the games and sports of the few.

Personally, I don't like the thought of living comfortably at the expense of all those poor devils caged in such working places as most of them are. Yet, it is inevitable if I once accept the prevailing groups of ideas. Under that arrangement of society and industry a few live comfortably and parasitically on the misery of many; stifling their consciences by citing all sorts of authorities to prove the inferiority of those who maintain them. Tolstoy's "What Is to Be Done" and some of the essays of Edward Carpenter are rather painfully illuminating on this point.

Along with this parasitism and great concentration of power goes a profound and widespread irresponsibility. It is inherent in modern mechan-

ism. Railways, steamships, airplanes, telephones, telegraphs and wireless together with mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption, and the corporation forms of organization have increased the economic power of the few but have at the same time distributed and divided moral responsibility and created so many barriers between people, so dulled human imagination, so created prejudices, that a sense of irresponsibility has developed among all. The evils of "absentee ownerships" in land have been greatly increased by the mechanical abolition of certain aspects of distance. An industrial "magnate" or banker issues an order in Europe which affects vitally the lives of Negroes in Central Africa or of the inhabitants of remote South Sea Islands. The imagination of that man of wealth and his human sympathies have been dulled and stunted by his enormous power. The pressure of business has been unremitting. Reports of conditions among those employees have come through many subordinates, each anxious not to seem to criticize his superior or the state of affairs; each anxious to please and thus help make his own position secure. The inevitable result among the masters is dense ignorance of the real lives, conditions, feelings, hopes, wealth and true welfare of those remote workers. Even the kindest of employers in such circumstances could not know of the human results of his decisions, and thus act truly wisely. And most of them are not distinguished for their kindness outside their families or a very small circle. They, like their subordinates, are cogs in a machine, forced by the pressure of vast organizations and a web of ideas in which they live to do things whose real meaning they know not. Except in a purely business or technical sense they are irresponsible, and the irresponsibility grows.

The consumers, too, cease to feel responsibility. When I, seated in a restaurant in France, put some pepper in my soup do I stop to think what poor coolie in Java, perchance, endured the hardship of gathering it while subject to a fever and perhaps to the indignities and brutality of harsh plantation supervision? No, I do not. But if it were grown next door to my house, then I could not help knowing it.

Even the worker is infected with irresponsibility. If he were a carpenter making furniture for use only in his own village his sense of craftsmanship and pride and joy in his work would all be stimulated. He would know that slipshod work would immediately discredit him in the eyes of his neighbors. He would want to give pleasure and satisfaction to those of his neighbors whom he knew and who knew him personally and on whose good opinion his life depended so much. But if he is a factory employee and does not even make an entire table, but merely table tops, and those tables are sold anywhere in the land—perhaps 500 or 1,000 miles away—he tends to take no pride in his work; none of his neighbors is watching him work; he perhaps has an unpleasant foreman; he is discontented because his wages are insufficient; he does not get praised when he does good work, his community does not know the character of his work and does not disrespect him if he does poor work. He then loses his sense of responsibility for the quality of his work.

Beyond that there is a subtle sort of psychological irresponsibility developed among most workers on power-driven machines. Their control of machineries, power and speed are not immediate and direct. They get no bodily "feel" or "sense" or immediate muscular and nervous reaction from the material upon which the machine is working. But when operating a hand driven tool or machine they get these immediate reactions from the material, tool and machine. The carpenter working with a hand chisel gets the feeling of a knot in the wood and immediately modifies the pressure and application of his instrument. If he is operating a machine planer, however, there is no such direct sensory link between him and the material. He loses touch with it. He cannot deal with it so sympathetically or artistically. He does not care so much for it. It and all that is to be connected with it ceases to be so interesting. He becomes irresponsible about it.

All these kinds of irresponsibility are bred by machinery. All are evil in their effects.

I have mentioned the huge scale of modern advertising. A large part of it is false and mendacious, either by direct statements or by distortion or suppression of part of the truth. Patent medicine advertisements are the most glaring example but in almost the whole realm of advertising, truth is not the dominant motive. And the products sold are not the best usually. Goods made by the hands of a skilled craftsman of the olden days were almost always more solid, lasting, adapted to their use and beautiful than those produced by machinery. Truthfulness and thorough honesty of workmanship were attributes of hand work far more than of modern machine production. It is generally admitted in all ages and countries that simplicity has high moral and spiritual value. But machine industry is incompatible with simplicity. Under that regime people must be persuaded to constantly buy more and more *things* in order to keep the wheels going around. Everyone knows this. The joy which people feel when they leave the cluttered surroundings of western civilization and cities, and get out into the country, even for a few hours, is evidence of the soul's need for simplicity. Its loss is a fundamental loss.

G. Ferrero, the Italian historian, has stated very forcibly certain aspects of machine civilization in his book "Ancient Rome and Modern America."

He writes: "A civilization, whose principal instrument for the accomplishment of its work and for establishing itself in the world is machinery, must necessarily consider the quantitative criterion the supreme criterion of perfection. In what respect, indeed, is machinery, regarded as an instrument of production, superior to the human hand? Everybody knows that its superiority consists not in quality, but in quantity of its output. Machinery produces much and quickly. The hand produces little and slowly. The hand, however, can attain a standard of perfection which is denied to machinery. Man will never succeed in constructing

a machine capable of sculpturing the Venus of Milo or of weaving the marvelous tapestries which we admire in the museums of Europe. Everything of a high degree of perfection is exclusively hand made; vice versa, the hand, however it may strive and labor and practice, will never succeed in attaining in its work the giddy rapidity of which steam and electricity-driven machines are capable, or in producing in so short a time so many good things. Consequently, in a civilization in which machinery predominates, men will be continually making fresh efforts to live faster and faster, and to produce and consume more and more rapidly.

"Europe, from the moment when she aspired to great wealth and to the domination of nature, was called upon to renounce her claim to many of the treasures of her ancient and refined culture. At the present time, the appetites and ambitions of all classes in Europe, even the most numerous, have been given free rein. Everybody, from the aristocrat of ancient lineage to the most obscure peasant, wishes to earn, spend and accumulate as much as he can.

"In the lap of modern civilization there are twin worlds struggling with each other for leadership. But these two worlds are not, as people are apt to think, Europe and America. Their names are quality and quantity.

"Deterioration must ever continue amongst the ideals for perfection which our ancestors worshipped so long as population multiplies and the demands and aspirations of all classes, as well as all expenses, public and private, continue to increase on the scale and with the momentum with which they are increasing at this moment. Even if this formidable revolution should slacken a trifle, the ideal of quantity must spread its empire over the earth; morality and beauty must of necessity be subordinated to the prime necessities of constructing machines ever increasing in speed and power, of expanding cultivated land, and of working new mines. Art, like industry, agriculture, like literature, will be compelled to increase their production to the continuous deterioration of their quality, and our secret discontent will grow in proportion as our triumphs increase."

Elsewhere he points out that great religions and great art both require leisure for their existence and development, and that machinery destroys the possibility of such leisure. Hence both art and religion have deteriorated since the advent of the machine age. Craftsmanship, with all its beauty and deep satisfaction to the creator and joy to the user, is also destroyed. And as Freeman says, there is a "general decrease in pleasurable mental states, consequent on the exchange of pleasant, varied and interesting work of the craftsman for the disagreeable, monotonous and dull occupations of the factory hand."

Even the beauties of surrounding nature are defiled by the huge smoky cities, the noisy railroads, great cuts and scars on the hillsides, ugly mines, devastated forests, noisy, smelly, reckless, rushing motor cars. The city populations steadily increase in proportion to rural livers. India has 10% city dwellers, the United States about 45%, England and Wales about 78%.

The growth of material power and its concentration produces degradation of vast numbers of men, women and children. It produces among the masters a belief that other men are a *means* to an end; not for the purposes of those other men but for the purposes of the masters. This means destruction of liberty, rigid discipline, a lowering of social status, ceaseless indignities and insults to the divine spirit in men. The change from hand to mechanical power means changing most men from original creative forces into cogs in a machine, and is thereby a denial of their moral and spiritual worth and dignity. And to that comes mass production, with its newspapers, railroads, cities, gramaphones, radios, and cinemas, standardizing the thoughts, feelings and habits of people over vast territories.

But the evil does not stop there. Periodical and inevitable times of unemployment are a source of worry and fear to millions of people. "Division of labor," mass production, machinery itself, and the development of "efficiency" or "scientific management" rob men of their skill and steadily transform them into unskilled workers lacking in self-reliance. The unskilled are easily replaced and are therefore the first to be discharged whenever a supervisor loses his temper or whenever there is business depression. They are paid the lowest wages. So the economic security of the masses steadily decreases. Fear broods over their lives more and more constantly and threateningly. Police and armies threaten and punish them whenever individually or in groups they tend to rebel. The kingdom of God and love are pushed further and further away.

Division takes the place of unity. "Division of labor," specialization of work, hypertrophies some of the individual laborer's abilities, puts an end to others, and splits its functions. His knowledge and skill are deprived partly by disuse and partly by such methods as "scientific management." Division of labor divides one labor from another. By differentiation of pay, of work, of opportunity for advance, it creates jealousies, suspicions, selfishness, ill-will, rivalries between workmen. The worker is divided from his employer. Think of the sharper separation of social classes, class bitterness and hatreds, strikes, discontent, syndicalism, and bolshevism. Slavery was bad, but the slave was fed and clothed regularly, for he was an economic asset. Nowadays the worker is divorced from his work. The employer only wants his work, his energy. The employer generally regards himself as irresponsible for the worker as a person. The harmony of society is ended. It is true that even in medieval days there were classes; but the princes, lords and knights lived in rude style not so greatly above that of the peasants. Their food was crude, their beds lousy, castles draughty and cold, their daily life full of hardships and personal combat. They had power, it is true, but it was on a relatively small scale and did not affect many outside those whom they personally saw fairly frequently. Such power was therefore exercised more humanely and with more responsibility.

Again, the opportunity for profit created by machines, when playing upon a whole nation of manufacturers, results in a bending of Government to assist in acquiring control over foreign lands where there are

raw materials available. Also to a reaching out to control the financial and commercial life of such countries in order to provide increasing markets in which to sell the mounting tide of manufactured products. Once these two get established, you have full fledged economic imperialism with all its exploitation and unconscious, ignorant, irresponsible cruelties. You have commercial and trade rivalries. By and by, you have war.

And when you get war, see what a further horror machinery has made of it. Airplanes attacking remote civilian cities, tanks, submarines, warships, gas, bombs, big berthas and all the slaughter and misery and terror and hatred that far exceeds in magnitude and intensity that of former warfare. It hinders future generations with tremendous taxes. It threatens civilization itself.

The sum total is not a pretty thing to contemplate. Power-driven machinery and the opportunities and developments made possible or necessary by it have thus created an intensive concentration of enormous economic power with consequent tyrannies and subserviences, arrogance and fear; great increases in death, disablement and disease, unemployment, insecurity, waste, rapid destruction of material resources, parasitism, loss of self-reliance; huge, dirty, noisy, unnatural, unhealthy cities; irresponsibility of many kinds, falsity and mendacity; decline of simplicity, leisure, art, craftsmanships, joy, religion; increase of insecurity and fear, decrease of happiness and contentment; divisiveness of man against man, class against class, nation against nation, continent against continent; and as machinery inevitably tends to grow and accumulate, so this fearful group of evils constantly swells and increases its oppression.

Is this picture too black, or have we in our materialism grown blinded and hardened to these evils? Have I forgotten the benefits of machinery, or am I singly emphasizing what is usually overlooked or hushed up?

The usual arguments in favor of machinery are that it produces more goods cheaper and with a saving of labor as compared with a hand-power regime. The assumption follows that mankind as a whole is therefore better off than formerly.

No one can deny that more goods are produced by power-driven machinery. But their quality,—beauty, permanence and adaptability to man's inner and outer needs are decreased. And the mere increase in material goods does not result in greater well-being to the mass of men, for the ownership, control and free use of those goods is more restricted in the long run than even before. And the burden of increased taxes, unhappiness, discontent, fears, decrease of leisure, beauty and religion more than affect the increase in material goods and their apparent decrease in price. The total price paid, direct and indirect, tangible and intangible, is far greater in a power-machine regime than in a hand-driven regime.

This is a clear case here "man doth not live by bread alone."

How about the saving of labor? I doubt it. Suppose you buy a motor car. Do you get more leisure? No. You simply expand your activities, cover more ground, and your life is more crowded than ever. A manufacturer installs a new labor-saving machine. Do his employees therefore have shorter hours or more chance for sitting and chatting? Not at all. He discharges some, for their labor is "saved." The others probably have to work harder or faster to take care of the resulting increase in production by the new machine. So you have, as a result, unemployment for some and harder work for others. Is life as a whole in any industrial nation more leisurely now than it was 150 years ago? Is work more adapted to natural rhythms, more creative of deep and permanent satisfaction? I think not.

And you must understand that lowered cost of production depends upon mass production and mass distribution. It wouldn't pay to construct a modern textile mill for the needs only of a small village. Take the case of the old small communities, each growing its own food, making its own clothing, building its own buildings, all from locally available materials. The cost of living in such communities was much smaller than what it is in modern life. It had no expenses of huge plant and machinery, no ocean and railway transportation charges, no storage, brokerage or insurance fees, no appalling burden of taxation.

If only a few articles are required, the expensive power-driven machinery does not reduce the cost of living, but adds to it. It reduces the cost of product only when it can be kept busy practically all the time, turning out tremendous quantities. Hence if the population lives in decentralized, self-supporting villages machinery with its concomitants is no saving but a burden.

For these reasons the arguments of increased production, decreased cost and saving of labor seem to me to lose their weight.

Ferrero tells of a discussion between himself and his wife on the value of machinery. He says: "The central point round which they (our discussions) ultimately revolved was this: whether the wealth for which man has to thank machinery is real or apparent. I said that since machinery produces much and at great speed, there seemed to me no room for doubt that it increased the sum of benefits at man's disposal, and therefore enriched the world. My wife replied that if machinery produces much, it also consumes enormously, more indeed than it produces, so that a mechanical civilization must always feel itself tormented by the necessity of having more than it possesses, and, therefore, must always be in a state of indigence."

"From this singular situation there is only one possible way of escape; a method which has no precedent in the world's history. It is that very method however, which men will not have spoken of. It would be absolutely essential to create a movement of public opinion through religious, political or moral means, which should impose upon the world a reasonable limit to its desires."

You may protest that it would be wrong to give up science. I agree; but the giving up of machinery does not require giving up of science. The three main divisions of science are physical, biological and psychological. The two second groups would stand intact and the major part of the first also could stand. The apparatus needed could be practically all produced by hand or by hand-made machines. Although scientists have helped to elaborate mechanism, they did not contribute most of the primary mechanical inventions. And those inventions were made not in the cause of pure science but in order to make money.

Also, if power-driven machinery goes, there may still remain with us such devices as the spinning wheel,

hand loom, sewing machine, wireless telegraph and radio, hand printing press, plough, harrow, etc.

This sort of small machinery is not expensive and can therefore easily be acquired and owned by those who use it. The users and owners may be as many as need be, instead of only a few wealthy men. Relatively little exploitation through such machinery is possible, The smallness of production of such machinery, although sufficient for healthy, happy living, is not so great as to constitute a temptation to overproduction, and hence to commercial competition and eventual imperialism.

Of course, I realize that the heart of the evil is not material and external. It lies in the mind and heart of man. Machinery is simply one material expression of an immense increase in human knowledge. But it is an unbaalnced state of knowledge, for it relates only to external and material things. It is like a deformity of growth of one organ of the body, so fearfully large and cancerous as to threaten the life of the whole creature. Christ said, "If thine hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee." The real cause of the evils lies in the region of motive,—selfishness and lust for power. But machinery, although not a prime cause of the evils, has been a great temptation and stimulus to wrong motives. It seems more of a temptation than poor human nature can stand. It seems to me to be the sort of temptation to which the Lord's Prayer applies, when it says, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." It is like a wild horse which we are trying to ride before we know how. We had better dismount and learn on a more controllable steed.

Alfred Russel Wallace, co-discoverer with Darwin of the Principle of Natural Selection, on his 92nd birthday said:

> This is the fundamental weakness; our knowledge, our science, has outstripped our moral development. We have become possessed of greater forces than we are morally fit to use. We have not sufficient self-control or good will to use these gigantic physical energies for the well-being of mankind, and are daily turning them into weapons of destruction.

Though I feel very strongly the harm which machinery has done and is doing, I do not blame any individual or group or class. The mistake and wrong lies in a group of motives and ideas. We all share in those motives of selfishness and greed to a greater or less extent. The mechanistic ideas have gripped *almost all* people of every class and groups in the western world, and some in other continents. Those ideas have blinded people.

Great as the evil is, it will not be mended by antagonism, hostility, bitterness, hatred or violence toward people. The only effective way is to try to understand and reveal to others the causes, the ways of working, and the real results of machinery, and try, through patient love and a different and simpler way of producing and living, to persuade people not to adopt it or to give it up. In course of time it will destroy itself, but by careful unremitting effort the suffering can be made less intense and shorter.

For all these reasons, I believe that Mahatma Gandhi is far nearer the truth than his critics, both in regard to his estimate of machinery and his method of getting rid of its evils.

Think it all over and tell me what you think of it.

Yours faithfully,

RICHARD B. GREGG.

P. S.—If you want evidence, see such books as *The Challenge of Waste,* by Stuart Chase; *Waste in Industry* compiled by the Committee of the Federated Engineering Society of the United States; *The Triumph of Nationalism* by Sir Leo Chiozza Money; books on *Scientific Management* or *Industrial Efficiency; Town Labourer* by Hammond; *Decay of Capitalist Civilization* by Webb.

—*Current Thought* (India) *Richard B. Gregg.*

Snapshots in Denmark

[The author of this article, a well-known American journalist, was at Copenhagen and in country towns nearby, from July 20th to August 1st, in attendance on the Third International Conference for the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade.—Ed.]

I turn my mental camera (a somewhat defective one) first to the country districts of Denmark, where we spent so much time. I get a good picture of dignified Danish farmers, proud of their calling as a profession; of rural colleges (they call them High Schools) where they scorn examinations and text books, and where the teachers are the whole cheese; where the teachers live with the students (they eat with them); where the students are from 18 to 40 years of age; where political issues are not excluded but studiously included; where the philosophy and science of co-operation are taught; where farmers own their farms (only 10 per cent don't); where almost all farm produce is sold through co-operative societies, and farm supplies bought the same way; where the state lends money to would-be farmers, to help them buy land (instead of lending it to bankers at low interest rates); where farm produce goes to market at low transportation rates over government owned railroads and steam ferry boats; where farms are very small but are scientifically and intensively cultivated; where agricultural high schools with extension work, and home economic courses make education permeate into every home; where cows are studied, as if they were indeed sacred animals; and over the whole rural scene I see hovering the spirit of Bishop Grundtvig, Denmark's prophet who believed agriculture could produce the highest culture, and save the souls of the people.

Turning my camera towards the workers in Copenhagen, and other cities and towns, I get a picture of well organized working men, nearly all members of the Social Democratic party, with more members in the lower house of parliament than any other party and nearly as many as any other party in the upper house; with unemployment insurance, sickness insurance, old age pensions, widow's pensions, and a liberal workman's compensation act, and with co-operative stores, factories and banks which they loyally support, they have demanded a democracy in form as well as substance and see no use for the ornamental office of King.

Taking a snapshot of Denmark's government

The Field

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A PAEAN TO MACHINERY

[See article "The Morals of Machinery" in this issue.—EDITOR.]

It is a mistake for the workers to be afraid of machinery, says Thomas A. Edison in an authorized interview published in the October issue of the *Forum*. The whole interview with the great inventor, which is the first of a series of four that will appear in successive numbers of the *Forum*, is a paean to machinery, in the further development of which Edison sees the answer to humanity's most difficult riddles.

It is a mistake, says Edison, to use human labor for anything that can be done as well or better by machinery. Muscle must give way to the motor, wherever it can give way and has not already done so. It is efficient to harness machines under the direction of one brain. It is sheer waste to tie that brain down to a single pair of hands. Nerves and muscles have reached their limit. Only the machine can go on increasing the amount of what men can produce. But Edison does not believe in any hit-or-miss application of machinery nor does he believe in all machinery. Only the best machinery—especially automatic machinery—can serve the purposes of the future. For the work of human hands is in itself so complex that a surprisingly complex machine is necessary to replace it.

So keenly does Edison feel the wastefulness of hand work that he describes it as simple slavery. The emancipator from this slavery of manual labor is the machine, which he describes as the greatest emancipator the world has ever known. Science and invention, he told the *Forum's* interviewer, are writing the real emancipation proclamation—not for a single race but for all humanity.

A man who does the work that a machine could do is a coolie. His life is empty and his intelligence is dulled. It is the machine which has saved the American working man from becoming such a coolie and which will in the future eliminate even the possibility of his ever becoming one.

Many writers have called attention to the deadening effect upon the factory worker of tending automatic machinery. But in his *Forum* interview Mr. Edison asserts that it is not the machine worker who is chained down and wasted. Instead, it is the manual laborer. The machine releases the worker's mind. Mr. Edison also denies that handwork is superior to machine work. In fact, he says, handwork is often bad and always uneven. Machine work is not monotonous and it increases the mental power of those who do it.

The overproduction often predicted as a result of the increasing development of machinery is only a bugaboo. There is no limit to human wants and therefore no limit to what humanity can use. In consequence over-production is impossible.

Edison believes that machinery will be a benefit to all classes. He says it is a part of general progress and that the worker has nothing to fear from it. As evidence he points in the *Forum* to the early printers' strikes which occurred when typesetting machines were first introduced and gives his reasons for asserting that the printers themselves have benefited so much from these machines that now they would strike if it were proposed to take their machines away.

MILITARY TRAINING
Undesirable for High Schools

My present opinion about military training for school boys is, first, that what is called military drill is not a good form of physical exercise for boys between fourteen and eighteen; secondly, that the useful part of such military drill as is now given in a few private and public schools is the "setting-up" drill, and that this "setting-up" drill ought to be given to every boy during his school life, but in the form of calisthenic exercises, having no military purpose in view; and thirdly, that training in the real work of a soldier, that is, marching under a heavy load, digging as rapidly as possible in the ground, and using effectively rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, bayonets, short swords, heavy and light artillery, and motor ve-

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I see a state, controlled more by farmers and workers than by manufacturers seeking special privileges in protective tariffs and seeking special immunities in tax exemptions. I see a state which has broken up the big landed estates and helped would-be farmers to buy them, by loans at low interest rates; that by other wise legislation has almost abolished landlordism; that has reduced tariff taxes to an average of only five per cent; that spends for military and naval purposes less than one-quarter of the annual budget; that prevents a meat trust by fostering co-operative abattoirs and that prevents a money trust by fostering co-operative banking; that provides free homes with gardens for all country school teachers; that makes elementary education compulsory; that prohibits child labor; that permits divorce by the mutual agreement of the interested parties without misconduct being proved; and that has a progressive income and inheritance tax.

These snapshots indicate why Denmark furnished a favorable atmosphere for the tax conference, which spent as many days in the country districts studying educational and agricultural conditions, as it did in Copenhagen discussing tax reform.

But although Denmark has pushed democracy farther into social economic and educational fields than any other country, and although the progressive reform measures of recent years have brought happiness, prosperity and enlightenment to the people, they are not altogether satisfied with them. They want a fundamental change which will make unemployment insurance, widows' pensions, old age pensions and similar measures unnecessary, and superfluous.

And so through the League of Justice, the Danish Land Values Committee and other organizations they are carrying on an educational campaign in favor of taking the unearned increment of land for government use, so that the tariff and all other forms of taxation may be abolished. Important legislation looking to this desirable end has already been enacted, and this is another reason which brought the tax conference to Copenhagen.

Seventeen countries were represented on the conference program and I count it one of the most important gatherings in many years of men and women advocating a definite program to make the life of mankind on this planet more just, rational and happy.

Copenhagen. CHESTER C. PLATT.

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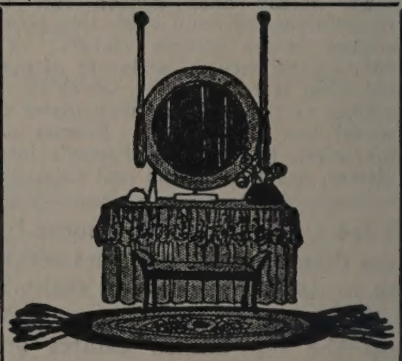

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hicles, including aeroplanes, should not be begun before the twentieth year.

The Swiss, who know as well as any people in Europe how to organize and maintain an effective army, do not begin real military training until the twentieth year, except that they encourage practice with the rifle for boys and young men organized into rifle clubs, and provided by the government with ammunition and ranges.

For these reasons I am opposed to military training for school boys.—*Charles W. Eliot.*